

THE
S T A T E
OF THE
Papist and Protestant
PROPRIETIES
IN THE
Kingdom of Ireland,

IN THE
Year 1641. when the then *Rebellion* began, and how
disposed in 1653. when the *War and Rebellion* was
declared at an End, and how disposed in 1662. upon the
Acts of Setement, and how the Proprieties stand this present Year
1689. with the Survey, Loss, Cost and Charge of both Parties by the
aforesaid War, or Rebellion :

WITH
Inferences and Expofulations from the whole, faithfully Cal-
culated in to concise a Method and Order as was never done before :
Humbly tendred to the Consideration of the KINGS most
Excellent MAJESTY, and the PARLIAMENT of
LORDS and COMMONS now Sitting at *Westminster*.

To which is added,
A List of the present Nobility of IRELAND Protestant
and Papist.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Richard Baldwin in the Old-Baily. 1689.

STATS

OF THE

County of [illegible] State of [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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TO THE
K I N G S
Most Excellent
M A J E S T Y.

May it please your Majesty,

AS it hath pleased the Eternal Providence to make Your Majesty the Illustrious Instrument of Saving these Three Kingdoms, now under Your happy Government, from an Inundation of Popery and Slavery; just ready to break down the Banks of their Ancient Laws and Liberties: So is it the Duty of every particular Person, to the utmost of his Abilities, to prostrate at Your Royal Feet, those Lights and Discoveries, which he may have gained by long Experience and Observation; to the end Your Majesty may the better be Enabled, by the General Survey of the State of Affairs, in any of Your Kingdoms, and a fair Prospect of their past ill Government, to apply those Remedies which Your Majesty in Your Great Princely Wisdom and Prudence, shall deem most conducing to the Establishment of their future Happiness: Since it is yet undetermin'd among the most deeply Learned, by which means a Potent Monarch gains the most durable Retown, whether by Erecting a New Fabrick of Dominion, or by Reforming the Errors of an Ancient Constitution.

These Papers therefore, may it please Your Majesty, falling into my Hands, and being by my self Imparted to some Persons of Eminent Degree, and better acquainted

The Epistle Dedicatory.

ted with the Affair of Ireland, I was encouraged to believe, That it would be no Unkindness done to the Author, to Prostrate them with all Humility to Your Majestys Royal Consideration; That so Your Majesty might with less Trouble understand the present Condition of that Your Kingdom, in reference to the Partial Disposal of the Lands and Possessions in that Kingdom; whereby it doth manifestly appear, what Interest prevail'd in the Punishment (if so it may be called) of the Subdued Irish for all the Massacres they committed, and all the Blood they spilt in the late Rebellion, as if the Irish had Rebelled to be the only Gainers, and the English had expended so much Treasure, and the Lives of so many Thousands to be the only Losers in the Distributions of their Conquests; The Victors not being permitted to enjoy what they had justly won by the Sword, while the Irish were restored to what they had as truly forfeited by their Cruel Disloyalty, by which partial Piece of Justice, the Victors were indeed subdued, and the Conquered were in the Conclusion victorious.

All which being fully made out in the following Sheets, I thought it my Duty, most humbly to add this smaller Offering of my sincere Integrity to serve Your Majesty, to the better Assistance and Information of Persons more able though of none more ready and zealous to approve himself by all the strictest Performances of Loyalty and Allegiance,

Your Majesties most humble, obedient
and faithful Subject and Servant.

J. C

This LETTER, and the Calculations annexed were Transmitted from Dublin, to the late King JAMES the Second in the Year 1688. Some few Weeks before His Highness the PRINCE of ORANGE Landed in ENGLAND.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE true intent of Your Majesty's most humble Orator, by this and his former Address, being to give *Truth* a release from the common restraints of fear, flattery or favour, that so Your Majesty having a true representation of Persons and things here, may be the better enabled and encouraged to apply suitable and seasonable Remedies, to the most desperate Maladies of this late happy, but now most miserable, Country.

Your Majesty cannot but know, that most Princes, have by advantageous Experience, found publick truths made known by private when suppressed by publick Persons, yet that the Matters herein contained might contract no prejudice, by the obscure Instrument that conveys it.

As in his former Letter, he humbly referred the Particulars to a Person of greater Circumstances of Credit with Your Majesty, then can be found in this Country. And as to the Calculations hereunto annexed, Your Majesty will find their Credit most supported on your own Records, and where those are defective, that supply is made by those probable Conjectures, which are as well as the Records in themselves evident, those Conjectures being either grounded on that common principle of Commutative Justice, or subjected to the Mensurations of the *Altitude*, and *Magnitude*, of Cœlestial bodies, made by *Astronomers*, which are demonstrable, may, and must be more, but cannot be less, then those Computations makes them.

I know that the loss of Five Millions and Five Hundreds and Fifty Thousands, mentioned in the Foot of the annexed Estimate, as lost by a less then two Years, *Irish Government*, seems to be a prodigious, and an incredible loss;

But

But that Sum not appearing to be a Third of the whole value of the Kingdom, and it being manifest, that at least one fourth of the Houses in this City of *Dublin* are now wast, and that House-rent here and elsewhere are fallen at least one Third of their former Annual value, and that Lands in the Country are generally fallen more then one Fourth, and the Inheritance now refused at Eight Years Purchase, which would not before have been sold for near double that value.

Some here and those none of the meanest Criticks in Calculations, drawing Inferences from the aforesaid premises, do conclude that this Kingdom is sunk more than a moyety of its intrinsic value, within the said time.

Especially when they add to the aforesaid considerations, the great Impair of the *British* Trade. The *Traders* now left, being not worth a Moyety of those we have lost, and these seeming rather prepared for flight then stay.

While by the open packing of *Irish Juries*, corrupting of Evidence, and Partiality of *Irish Judges*, they see it, in the *Natives* Power to take what *British* Life or Estate they please, and to make the most Innocent Person suffer as the greatest Malefactor; and all the while not seemingly break any Law by so doing. It is well known that upwards of Fifty Indictments were found by *Irish Evidence*, against the *British* who were most Celebrated for *Loyalty* in this Kingdom; who though they were afterwards all acquitted as being innocent, had yet in all probability suffered as Traytors, had not the unexpected coming of the Earl of *Charendon* to the Government, and his appointing *Protestant Sheriffs* broke those Snares.

Your Majesty so well knowing the Validity of Oaths; as to the Proof of Crimes and Titles by the *English* Laws, will easily believe what fatal Execution a people let loose may do on a people bound by those Cords; Especially where Perjury is, by some held no Sin, by most a venial Sin, and by others a duty. How often do we now see forged Deeds, formerly most justly condemn'd, revived; how often do we see and that to the great Scandal of Justice
and

and Government, Your Majesties *Irish* Council making use of Your Majesties Name, as Highway men do of your *Publick Road*, that they may the better violate your Law, rob your Subjects, and enrich themselves, and Pirate-like, make all prize that are weaker and wealthier than themselves?

How often do we hear the poor *British* reflecting on the late bad and miserable times, when the *Irish* made all the *British* within their reach either accessaries to their Guilt, or Subject to their Wrath? When in six Months time without Comiseration to Sex or Age without any Opposition or Provocation they Murthered upwards of one hundred thousand *British* in one Province of this Kingdom, and that with all imaginable Circumstances of Cruelty and Barbarity? All which must be true or the Records taken on your Father of blessed memories Commission, reciting Circumstances of time, place and number of Persons so Murthered must be all false, and had the Government, Garrisons and Army been then, as now, in the *Irish* hands, it is more then probable, there had not one *British* Person been left alive in this Kingdom.

And can the fright of the *British* at, and their flight from, these Flames now, which they found and felt so destructive then, be matter of blame to them or supprize to any, or can it be presumed that the natives disapointment by that War hath lessened their rage, or bettered their Nature, if when the *Irish* had no share in the Government, nor Arms, nor knowledge how to use them, and no command of Garrisons or Souldiers, but these and many other advantages in the *British* hands, if they were then able, to make their wrath so successful, what can rationally be expected, to become of the *British*, now amongst them? I do the more willingly Enumerate these Particulars rather to confirm the following, and more moderate Estimate, then the larger made by others, concerning the aforesaid loss. Yet this I may with more truth then satisfaction affirm, that if the judicial proceedings past in that time are not reviewed,

view'd, if the gaps lately made, to let in an inundation of *Arbitrary Power*, on the *British Propriety* is not repaired, and those who made them severely punished; and lastly, if no better security, then *Irish Judges, Sheriffs and Juries* can be found to preserve the *British Proprieties*, *Ichabod* may well be the Character, a Foreigner the Master, and desolation the portion, of this unhappy Country, when it becomes a habitation for wild Beasts, or worse Creatures, under only the shape and resemblance of human Features.

Your Majesties Improvement of these and better helps may so open your Ears, that in the words of the *Psalmist*, *The sorrowful sighing of the Prisoner may come up before you*; and then I no ways doubt, but in the further words of the same *Psalmist*, according to the greatness of your Power and Goodness of your Nature, you will preserve those who seem appointed to dye, that they may yet live to pray for your Majesties long Life, &c. as doth, may it please your Majesty, your Majesties most humble, dutiful and obedient Subject and Servant.

An Estimate Containing,

1. The *Latitude, Longitude and Survey* of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*.

2. What Part or how many Acres thereof are profitable, and how many unprofitable.

3. The Annual value, with the value of the Inheritance of both in 1641. before the Late *Irish Rebellion* began, with what it was reduced unto in the Years 1653. when the said *Rebellion* was declared at an end.

How the said *Irish Propriety* was settled, and disposed in the said Year, 1653.

How disposed in 1662. and 1663. by the *Act of Settlement*, and *Explanation*, and by the *Commissioners* for Executing the said Acts.

How it stands on the date of this Estimate, viz. in the Year 1688.

The

The particular loss and gain of both *Protestant* and *Irish* part, by the said *Rebellion*.

The whole charge of the then King and the *Protestant* Party, to suppress the said *Rebellion*.

Lastly Inferences from all the aforesaid *Calculations*.

The Survey.

The *Latitude* of *Ireland*, *North*, is parallel to *Dumfries* in *Scotland*, which is about Sixty Miles more *North* then *England*.

South it is parallel to *St. Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*.

The *Longitude*, *West*, to the utmost point of *Ireconough* in the County of *Galloway*.

East, to the *Head of Hath* near *Dublin*.

The whole number of Acres, by comparing several Surveys, appears to be about ten Millions and four Hundred Thousand *Irish Acres*, (twenty one Foot to the *Perch*) which make about Seventeen Millions *English Measure*, and makes *Ireland* equal in quantity to *England*; *Wales* excepted.

Of the said ten Millions four Hundred Thousand Acres, there appears to be about three Millions of Mountains, Wood, Bog and other unprofitable Acres.

So that the profitable part appears to be about seven Millions and four Hundred Thousand Acres, which were thus seized, possessed and enjoyed *Anno. 1641.* before the *Rebellion* began.

First, The *British* or *Protestant* Propriety, was then about two Millions four Hundred Thousand of the said profitable Acres, *Irish Measure*.

The *Irish*, or *Roman Catholics* Propriety was the remainder, being about five Millions of the said Acres.

Memorandum, that in *Anno. 1653.* the *Rebellion* was publicly declared to be at an end, and then the aforesaid *Irish Propriety*, of the said five Millions of Acres was distributed and disposed of as follows.

First, Unto such of *Irish Roman Catholicks*, who proved their constant good affection to the *British Interest*, were restored about one Hundred Thousand Acres.

Secondly, There was set aside to satisfy the Officers, and Souldiers who served in the *Irish War* before *Anno. 1649.* being the Year *Oliver Cromwel* came over into *Ireland* in the Counties of *Wicklow*, *Longford*, *Letrym*, *Donnegal*, and within the *Mileline* of *Sea* and *Shannon*, about four Hundred Thousand Acres.

Thirdly, There was distributed to the adventurers who advanced Monies on the *Acts* of the *Seventeenth* and *Eighth* of *King Charles the First*, to carry on the War of *Ireland*, about eight Hundred Thousand Acres.

Fourthly, There was set forth to the Officers and Souldiers, who served from 1649. until the Year 1653. being the declared end of the said War, about two Millions of Acres,

Fifthly, There was set forth to several *Grants*, about one Hundred Thousand Acres.

Sixthly, To the *Roman Catholicks* according to their several proofs of their qualifications by the Commissioners at *Loughbreagh*, pursuant to the decrees of the Commissioners at *Athloane*, about seven Hundred Thousand Acres in the Province of *Conaugh*, and County of *Clare*.

Seventhly, There was set aside for the support of the Government, the forfeited Houses in the walled Towns, and about Eight Hundred Thousand Acres in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Louth*, *Cork*, *Cathorlough* and *Kildare*; the most of which were set in Leases of Thirty one Years, to *British Protestants*.

Memorandum. That the aforesaid *British* or *Protestant Proprieties* were *Anno. 1653.* restored to the respective former *Proprietors*.

And thus stood the *Proprieties* of Lands in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, until *Anno 1660.* The restauration of the Late King.

Memorandum, That in Years 1661. 1662. and 1663. by *Acts of Parliament* and decrees of the *Court of Claims*, there were taken away from the aforesaid Interests and retrenchments of one third, by the *Explanatory Act*, and restored to former Proprietors about two Millions of Acres of the aforesaid Lands, so that at the Period of the said *Commissions of Claims*, the aforesaid Propriety was as follows,

First, The *Protestant Propriety*, and the *Propriety of the Roman Catholics*, who proved their constant good affection to the *English*, were untoucht, either by *Act of Parliament* or decrees of the *Court of Claims*.

Secondly, The Lands of the Officers who served his Majesties in the *Irish War*, before the Year 1649. were reduced to about one hundred and ninety thousand Acres, the rest of their Lands were restored to former *Irish Proprietors*.

Thirdly, The aforesaid *Adventurers* satisfaction was by the said *Acts of Parliament*, and decrees of the *Court of Claims* reduced to about three hundred thousand Acres.

Fourthly, Remaining then with the Officers and Souldiers who served since the Year 1649. about twelve hundred thousand Acres.

Fifthly, There was then left with the *Transplantable Irish* in the Province of *Conangh* and County of *Clare* about six hundred Thousand Acres.

Sixthly, There were confirmed to *Grantee*, by the *Acts of Parliament* about Two hundred thousand Acres, of which about one Moyety was to *Roman Catholics*, the other to *British Protestants*.

Seventhly, There is left of course Lands, undisposed and over-plus Lands in the hands of *Souldiers* and *Adventurers* about one hundred thousand Acres.

So that there appears, confirm'd by *Acts of Parliament*, and the *Commissioners of the Explanatoric Acts*, about seventeen hundred and eighty thousand Acres, to the *Souldiery* and *Adventurers*, and to the *Protestant Grantees* by

Provisoers in both the said Acts about one hundred thousand Acres, and the like Sum of course *retrench'd* and *mis-disposed* Lands, are still in the King's hands; which makes in all about Two Millions of *Irish* Acres, which is all that the Crown of *England* and *British* Interest hath got, and the *Irish* then lost by that Rebellion. But since by His *Majesties* present Rent-Roll, there appears above two Thirds of the aforesaid two Millions, to be got by pretended Deeds, set up by the *Irish*, or by Purchases made at unvaluable Rates, both by the *Irish*, and the former *British* Inhabitants of that Country; so that now there is little appearance of that late numerous and victorious Interest, which rescued this Kingdom out of *Irish* Rebels and *British* Male-Content's hands, which how valuable the foresaid two Millions of Acres were, and now are, will appear by the next general Head, which contains the annual Value and Inheritance of the said Lands in the Year 1641. before the Rebellion began, and to what value both *Roman Catholick* and *Protestant Propriety* was reduced in the Year 1653. when the said Rebellion was declared at an End, all which will more fully appear by the following Diagram,

The Value in 1641, before the Rebellion began.

Total	Annual value at	Inheritance at
The whole King- dom contains se- ven millions four hundred thousand profitable Acres, of which the	4 Shillings an Acre comes to one mil- lion four hundred an eighty thou- sand pounds Ster- ling	twelve years pur- chase comes to seventeen millions seven hundred and sixty thousand pounds Sterling.

<i>Irish</i> Proprie- ty then was five millions of	Acres one mil- lion of pounds of Sterling comes	unto twelve mil- lions Sterling
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British

British Propriety } four hundred and } lions seven hundred
two millions and } eighty thousand } and sixty thousand
four hundred } pounds Sterling } pounds Sterling.
thousand Acres } comes to five mil- }

The *Reduced value* of the whole and of each Propriety in 1653. When the Rebellion was declared at an End was.

Annual value at 9 pence an Acre *Inheritance at 8 years purchase*

The whole King- } to two hundred } comes to two mil-
dom seven millions } seventy seven thou- } lion two hundred
four hundred thou- } sand five hundred } and 20 thousand
sand Acres comes } pounds Sterling } pounds Sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. is fif-
teen millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds Ster-
ling.

The *Irish Pro-* } comes to one mil- } tance at eight
priety then about } lion eighty seven } years purchase
five millions of A- } thousand five hun- } comes to one
cres at nine pence } dred pounds Ster- } million and a
an Acre per annum } ling. The Inheri- } half Sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. of this
Propriety was, nine millions four hundred and eighty thou-
sand pounds.

The *British Pro-* } per annum comes } purchase comes
testant Propriety was } to ninety thou- } to 7 hundred
two millions and } sand pounds Ster- } and 20 thou-
four hundred thou- } ling. The Inheri- } sand of pounds
sand Acres at 9d. } tance at eight years } Sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. in this Propriety was five millions and forty thousand pounds Sterling.

Memorandum, That besides the aforesaid *Irish Propriety* in Lands, there appears by your Majesty's Records in the *Auditory Office* that there were as many Houses in Walled Towns, besides *Tythes* and *Rectories* belonging to the *Irish*, which did yield in *Anno 1653*, about five thousand pounds Sterling *per annum*, which at eight years purchase was then worth forty thousand pounds Sterling.

Memorandum, That the *Protestant Propriety*, within the Walled Towns, is not included in the above Calculations, neither the *Tythes* or *Glebe* belonging to two thousand four hundred Parish Churches; there being about that Number of Parishes in this Kingdom.

The next general Head is the particular *Loss* and *Gain* of both *British* and *Irish* by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That by the aforesaid Article, it appears, that the *British* have got, and the *Irish* have lost by the said Rebellion, about two millions of Acres, which by the aforesaid Valuations in the Year 1653. appear to be worth two millions of nine pences *per annum*, which is seventy five thousand pounds Sterling and at eight years purchase for the Inheritance, is six hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

This was the Common value when the *British* entred on the said forfeited Lands; and to this is to be added the aforesaid forty thousand pounds for their Interest in Walled Towns and *Rectories*.

This six hundred and forty thousand pounds is the whole of the *British Gain*, and *Irish Loss* by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That the *Irish* loss of Houses, Goods Stocks, &c. being occasioned by their own Rebellion are not included in this calculation.

The next thing considerable is the *Irish* gain, and the *British* loss, which appear by these following Particulars.

I. By thirteen Years loss of Rents, the Annual Propriety of the *British* did amount, as aforesaid, before the Rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thousand Pounds, which for thirteen Years amounts unto six millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds Sterling.

II. The said Rebellion began the 23^d. of *October* 1641. at which time the *British* had one whole Years stock of Hay and Corn by them, which usually supplied them, with materials to satisfy their Number and *May* Rents then ensuing, and had likewise then sowed their *Winter* Corn, both which could not be less worth then half a Years Rent of the whole Land, which appears as aforesaid, to be two hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

III. The *British* Propriety was as is well known, well stock'd and improved *Anno*. 1641. and consisting of two millions four hundred thousand Acres *Irish Measure*, which appears to be near a third of the whole Kingdom, must have its proportion of the three millions of unprofitable Acres as aforesaid; and there could not be less stock, on two Acres and a half *Irish Measure* (which considering the Addition of the unprofitable must be more then four *English* Acres) then one Beast on the Pasturable Part; what Acres were under Corn must be of a much higher value, which Beast *Communi Rato*, could not be of less value then twenty Shillings; by which the value of the *British* stock at a moderate rate appears in the Year 1641. to be worth two millions four hundred thousand Pounds.

IV. The value of their Houses, Goods and Improvements cannot be valued at less then double the value of their stocks, which makes four millions eight hundred thousand Pounds. The aforesaid four Sums which were received; and robbed or taken from the *British* during the said Rebellion appears to be thirteen millions two hundred and forty thousand Pounds, which supposeth the whole *British* Propriety; to be robb'd, spoiled or enjoyed by the *Irish* during the said Rebellion, whereas it is evident that the *Metropolis* of *Dublin*, the City of *Droghedagh* in the Province

vince of *Lamster*, the City of *London-Derry*, *Colerain* Town and Castle of *Lanis-hillin*, Towns of *Bell-fast* and *Canig-fergus* in the Province of *Ulster*, the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Bandon Bridge*, *Tonghal* and *King-sale* were never in the *Irish* hands; But these compared with all the other Towns and Cities of this Kingdom, with more then nineteen parts in twenty of all the Lands which within six Months after the Rebellion, began, where still in the *Irish* hands, there cannot be abated in the aforesaid consideration one tenth of the aforesaid Sum.

Yet abating the tenths, there remains neat loss to the *British*, and got by the *Irish* twelve millions one hundred and thirty thousand Pounds Sterling.

V. On or about the Years 1662. and 1663. there was taken from the *British* and restored to the *Irish*, by *Acts* of *Parliament* and *Decrees* of the *Court of Claims*, above two millions of profitable Acres, the Annual value of which said Lands in *Anno*. 1653. when the *British* first re-entred upon them at nine pence an Acre appears to be seventy five thousand; which at eight Years Purchase for the Inheritance is, six hundred thousand Pounds, but by the *British* enjoyment and improvement of the said Lands from 1653. until 1662. and 1663. the Annual value of the said Lands was raised unto two Shillings three pence an Acre, which was two hundred twenty and five thousand Pounds Sterling and the Inheritance at ten Years Purchase, Lands being then so usually set and sold, in those times, and the Inheritance of the aforesaid two millions, appearing not to be worth more in the Year 1653. when the *British* entred on them, then six hundred thousand Pounds; which being deducted out of two millions two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, it appears that the *British* have lost and the *Irish* have got by the two millions of Acres so as before restored, sixteen hundred and fifty thousand Pounds; which being added to the aforesaid twelve millions one hundred and thirty thousand Pounds, its clear by the aforesaid Particulars, that the *British* have lost,

lost, and the *Irish* have got by their Rebellion, Thirteen Millions seven hundred and eighty thousand Pounds, to which being added the five Millions forty thousand pounds damage done the *British Propriety*, as appears by the fore-mentioned *Diagram*, in reducing the values of the Inheritance of the said Lands in 1653. from what it was worth in 1641, makes the neat damage of the *Protestant Propriety* by the said Rebellion to be eighteen millions eight hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling.

The next General head is the Particular charge of the said Rebellion to the King and the *British* or *Protestant Interest* of this Kingdom.

1. By an adjusted Account now of Record here in *Dublin* it appears, that from the 23th of *October* 1641, to the Year 1649, there was due only to the Commissioned Officers, about eighteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

2. There could not be less than double that Sum due to the *Non-Commissioned* Officers and private Soldiers within the said time, which amounts to three millions six hundred thousand pounds.

3. There was received by the said Officers and Soldiers in Money, Quarters and Provisions within the said time, one fourth of the whole, which was defaulted out of the Officers Debenters, and amounted to one million three hundred and forty thousand pounds.

So that from 1641 to 1649, the Charge of the said War appears to be at least six millions seven hundred and forty thousand pounds; and what since, to the Period of the War in 1653. appears by these following Particulars.

1. By an adjusted Account, there appears due to the Officers and Souldiers, who served within the said time, about twelve hundred thousand pounds, which was satisfied in Lands.

2. The said Officers and Soldiers were paid two Parts more in Money, which was two millions four hundred thousand pounds.

3. There was one fourth deducted out of both Officers and Soldiers Debenters on the account of quarters and provision, which amounts to, as aforesaid, twelve hundred thousand pounds.

4. By an adjusted account it appears, that the *English Adventurers* advanced in the Years 1641 and 1642 about four hundred thousand pounds, which Money being advanced and paid in the aforesaid Years of 1641 and 1642 and no satisfaction made until the Year 1655 and 1656, the Interest must be more than the Principle, which amounts at least to eight hundred thousand pounds.

5. There was near ten thousand *Scots*, who served most part of the War, in the Province of *Ulster*, under the command of General *Lesley*; but their Arrears being never stated, adjusted nor paid, cannot be so Particularly ascertained, but cannot be less than one Million of Pounds.

Memorandum, That there was many Independent Troops in *Ulster* and *Munster* whose accompts were never adjusted, satisfied or paid.

Memorandum, That in this Calculation is also omitted the most Christian and Charitable releif given and sent by the *States of Holland*, who in one Ship sent thirty thousand Pounds in provisions in the beginning of the Rebellion, which came so Seasonable that hundreds of *British* Families were thereby preserved from starving and perishing, nor is there mentioned the charge of Ships, Arms or Ammunition during the War.

Memorandum, That there is not any mention made of the great Collection of Charity for the releif of the despoyled Protestants of the Country.

The aforesaid Particulars since the Year 1649. amounted to six millions six hundred thousand Pounds; before 1649. appears to be six millions seven hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

Both Sums containing the whole of the aforesaid charge amount to thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

The *British* or *Protestant* loss and damage appears to be as aforesaid eighteen millions eight hundred sixty two thousand Pounds, and both together make Thirty two millions one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds.

From all the Premises aforementioned the Inferences following do naturally arise.

1. Whereas the *English* adventurers debt who advanced Money on the credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Year 1641. and 1642. for support of the *Irish* War did amount to more then eight hundred thousand Pounds, and it appearing as aforesaid, that they received not more then three hundred thousand Acres of Land for satisfaction of of the said debt, and it likewise appearing by the aforesaid *Diagram*, that the Annual value of the said Lands was at most but eleven thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds, it is manifest that the said adventurers paid more then seventy Years Purchase for what was not worth really more then eight.

2. Whereas there appears as aforesaid due to the *English Souldiery* above all the deductions, six millions six hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, and those who served before the Year 1649. having received but one hundred and ninety thousand Acres of Land, and as many Houses in Walled Towns, and Incumbrances, as were worth at most but five thousand Pounds *per annum*.

And whereas it appears that the Souldiery since 1649. had left them by the Court of Claims about twelve hundred thousand Acres, making in all about thirteen hundred and ninety thousand Acres which with the five Thousand Pounds *per annum* for Rents of Houses, &c. appears at most to be worth no more then fifty seven thousand one hundred twenty five Pounds *per annum*, as appears by the aforesaid *Diagram* it is as clear that the said Souldiery have paid more then one hundred and fifteen Years Purchase for what was not worth more then eight.

3. Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole loss in Houses, Lands, *Tithes* and *Rectories* of the *Irish* do amount at most but to six hundred and forty thousand Pounds, and

it appearing that the *British* lost, and the *Irish* during their Rebellion got.

1. As much Corn and Hay from the *British* as was at least worth as aforesaid two hundred and forty thousand Pounds, which Sum alone is more then one third of their whole loss.

2. The *British* stock of Horses, Sheep, Cattle, &c. appears as aforesaid to be worth two millions eight hundred thousand Pounds, which appears to be more then four times the aforesaid loss.

3. The *British* Houses, Goods and Improvements which the *Irish* got, and the *British* lost, appears to be five millions six hundred thousand Pounds, which is more then nine times the aforesaid loss.

4. The Rents which the *Irish* received from the *British* *Propriety* during their Rebellion, amounting to five millions eight hundred and forty thousand Pounds as aforesaid is more then nine times the aforesaid loss.

The *British* loss in their Improvements on the restored Lands by the *Court of Claims* in 1662. and 1663. amounts to sixteen hundred and sixty thousand pounds as aforesaid, which alone is near Treble of the whole of the *Irish* loss.

Memorandum, That the aforesaid five Sums which the *Irish* got from the *British*, deducting the Tenth as aforesaid, is fifteen millions and thirty thousand pounds: so that it is plainly demonstrated, That the *Irish* got from the *British* more then *Thirty times* what they lost by their Rebellion.

Memorandum, That to the aforesaid *British* loss, there is yet to be added the damage done their *Propriety*, from the value it was worth in the Year 1641, to what it was reduced to in the Year 1653, which appears to be five millions two hundred and eighty thousand pounds, which makes the whole loss and damage done the *British* by that Rebellion to amount unto above twenty millions of Pounds Sterling; which Sum appears to be lost out of less than a
Third

Third of the whole Propriety of this Kingdom: and is,

1. More than double the value of the whole Propriety of their Lands in the Year 1641, and more than twenty times the value it was reduced to in the Year, 1653.

2. It appears, as aforesaid, to be more than the whole Propriety, that all the Lands in this Kingdom, was worth in the Year 1641.

3. The *Protestant's* Loss and Damage, as aforesaid, appears to be near double the charge of the aforesaid War.

4. It appearing before the death of *Charles* the Second, That Lands in this Kingdom, were raised to equal value in 1641, it is demonstrable, That the *British* Industry had raised this Kingdom, in thirty years time, notwithstanding all their discouragements, to upwards of fifteen millions of pounds Sterling.

The late King *Charles* in favour to the *Irish*, releasing by the *Explanatory Act* the clear Right, which the Crown had, to the whole Province of *Connaught*, Counties of *Clare*, *Lymrick* and *Tipperary*; His Majesty thereby parted with ten times more than the *Irish* forfeited.

VI. By *Provisoes* in the Act of *Settlement* and *Explanation*, and by Pensions and other Donatives given the *Irish*, as appears by the *Treasury Accounts* of both Kingdoms, there appears much more given to them, than was forfeited or lost by them.

VII. The last *Parliament* in this Kingdom, giving his Majesty twenty eight Subsidies, and three hundred thousand pounds in Money, gave more in value, than all the forfeitures by that Rebellion, they settling a revenue of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, on the Crown, with a *Nemine Contradicente*, by that gave more then ten times the value of the said forfeitures.

VIII. The Charge of the said Rebellion, appearing to be thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand pounds, it is evident, that the aforesaid *Irish* loss, will not pay a fourteenth part of the said Charges.

IX. Admit

IX. Admit the Lands of this Kingdom were before the Commencement of the present *Irish Government* (or *Irish Administration*) raised to the value of 1641, and that Lands were only fallen one fourth in their yearly value, which appears to be about three hundred ninety three thousand pound, and that they were only sunk in the Inheritance, one third, which is five millions five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, then both making five millions nine hundred and forty three thousand pounds, which this Kingdom is already sunk, with only one years *Irish Government*.

X. Whereas it appears by the Excellent Preface of the *Act of Settlement*, that *Anno 1660*, seven years after the aforesaid Rebellion was declared at an End, when Persons and things were in calm and serene Frame in this Kingdom, the most able of the *Irish Agents*, were fully heard before His Majesty and Council in *England*, what they could answer in behalf of their Country-men, yet on the said hearing, the Universal Guilt of the *Irish*, with their Horrid Massacres and Barbarous Murthers, in that Rebellion, were fully proved, their just Forfeitures of their Lives and Estates affirmed, and that Rebellion declared by the said King and Council in *England*, and afterwards by the Parliament and Council of *Ireland*, the most Horrid and Universal Rebellion which ever befel that Kingdom, and as thereby it appears to be the highest in point of Guilt, so by what hath been said as aforesaid, it appears to be the greatest in point of Loss and Charge, and though, as by the said Excellent Preface, it further appears, that by Gods blessing on the *British Forces*, the said *Irish* were Totally, Universally and Absolutely subdued, yet it appears, as aforesaid, that Affairs have been so managed, that the Nocent, Conquer'd *Irish* Party, both in times of Peace and War, have been *Gainers*, and the Innocent, Victorious *British*, the only *Losers* by that Rebellion. But let it ever be remembered by your Majesty and not forgot by all Succeeding Kings of *England*,

land, nor the *English* Nation, That if the publick Disturbances in *England* heightned into a Civil War (chiefly occasion'd by the Massacre and Rebellion here) at the same time, and the great Corruptions of those through whose hands most of the Administrations passed, relating to *Ireland*, had not prevented, That Rebellion had not cost the *British* one fourth of the Time, nor one penny Charge, but on the contrary the very Forfeitures of the *Irish* would not only have paid all that whole Reckoning, but an over-plus, sufficient to have plentifully rewarded the Victorious *British*, which no doubt will be found Mathematically True, if ever the *Irish* give another occasion to try it.

Lastly, Whereas it appears as aforesaid, that the whole Loss, Costs and Charge of the King and Protestant Party, to suppress the said Rebellion, did amount to thirty four millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds Sterling, and whereas it sufficiently demonstrates, who have been the greatest Gainers, and greatest Losers, so it shews who have most cause to complain of the dismal Effects of that Rebellion, whether the Conquering *British*, or the Conquered *Irish* : And so, it is more then probable, that the said Rebellion began the 23th of *October* 1641. and ended in the Year 1653, and that as it cost and lost more Treasure, so if there were as careful a Scrutiny made after the Blood spilt, or occasion'd to be spilt, as of Treasury spent ; both would appear much greater, then the price of all the late Christian Victories over the great *Turk*, which may be a sufficient and seasonable Caution, both to Prince and People to prevent future Rebellions in this Kingdom, which since its Original Conquest, hath by the Sins of both, been made an *Acheldama*, or Field of Blood. The late unusual Prodigies from the Heavens, the late dismal Apparitions in the Air, the late unheard of Inundation on this City, the astonishing Variances of our great Ones detecting each others Nakedness, the late revival of our National and Religious Animosities, with the *British Migremus hinc*, and other fatal Prognostics, seems to foretell

tell as fatal, or more fatal Judgments, than that which last beset this Kingdom, which next to the Abomination of Desolation, which beset the *Jews*, was the heaviest and sharpest, that ever beset so small a spot of the World, since the World began, which were it described, as it ought, could not be believed, but by such as saw it, were Actors in it, or suffered by it, which with Gods blessing on Your Majesty's Councils, may be yet easier prevented than hereafter cured, which is the proper end of this Estimate, and gives Foundation for the *British* following Expostulation with their King and their *Irish* Neighbours.

Dread Sir,

What have we done, to merit the severity of your highest displeasure? Nay, what have we not done, which might intitle us to your highest Favour; were we, or our Ancestors ever false? or were our *Irish* Adversaries, or theirs ever true to the Crown of *England*? The *Irish* have frequently made us, and our Ancestors, Beggars, but never yet made either Rebels. Were not our Estates seized, our Houses burnt, our Goods and Stock plundered, our Chargeable and Laborious Improvements spoiled, our Persons stripped, and inhumanly Murdered in the Year 1641; only for our Loyalty to our God, and our King? And when by an Article made in the Cessation, every Individual Person was left to choose his Party, did not we, as Universally and Unanimously declare our selves of your Fathers Party; as the *Irish*, declared themselves to be of the Rebels Party? We, and our Ancestors have been constantly made the *But*, but its evident, that the Crown of *England*, and the Sovereignty of this Country, have been the Mark of the Natives Wrath. Though your Father left us, and that by a Law, to be supported by the
Parliament

Parliament of *England*, and they really were kind to us, in the day of our extremity, yet our Loyalty to him so subjected our gratitude to them, and the natural care of our Relations, that when we wanted hands, to revenge the innocent Blood, which the Natives had so inhumanly spilt, or to prevent them of spilling more; yet even then, at your Fathers Command we sent large supplies of both Horse and Foot, to Fight against that very *Parliament*, which then under God, were our only support.

And did we not continue thus dutiful, till your Fathers Necessities forced him to desert us, and give us leave to shift for our selves, and in this Exigence, which was about the Year 1646. was not his Grace, the *Duke of Ormond*, by the perfidious Treachery, and breach of Articles made by the *Irish*, reduced to that strait, that he was forced to give up his Majesty's Sword, either to the Parliament of *England*, or to the Confederate *Irish* Assembly? And did not the Earl of *Castlehaven*, who was then a proscribed Person by the *Parliament*, and a General to the said Confederate Assembly, advise his Grace, rather to give up the Sword to the *English*, then to the *Irish*, and is not the reason of that Advice, made publick to the World in his Memoires?

And did not the said *Duke of Ormond*, then publickly, and frequently Caution the Parliaments Commissioners, how they ever trusted the *Irish*, letting them know, that they would serve any *English* Governour, as they had served him? And did he not advise his Officers, and Souldiers to joyn with any Party, that was *English*, to fight against the *Irish*? Pursuant to this Advice, we strait joyned our selves to the *Parliament's* Forces, and were eminently Instrumental, in that great Victory obtained against the *Irish* at *Dungan Hill*, and though we found a continued Series of succets to attend our Service under the *English* Banners, yet no sooner did we see your Father sold by the *Scots*, little better then Imprison'd by the *Parliament*; and easily foreseeing, those methods, presaging worse to ensue, though the Parliaments Forces were *Triumphant* in the three

D

King-

Kingdoms, yet notwithstanding all discouragements, we entred in a new Treaty with the Confederate Catholics, and out of our passionate desire to serve and save your Majesty's *Father* in that Exigency, your *Brother*, and we submitted, to whatever Articles were proposed by the said *Irish*; yet as advantageous as those Articles were to them, and as prejudicial as they were to us, the *Irish* Commissioners could not be prevail'd with to sign them, until the 17th of *January* 1648. when they well knew, it was too late, to prevent what followed the 30th following, which *Articles*, whosoever reads will find them, the most *Traiterous*, that were ever made by Subjects with their *Prince*.

We thus finding, that we could not do, what we would, for your *Father*, and (vainly) hoping the *Irish* might be more Loyal and Faithful to your *Brother*; we joyn'd our selves to them, and continued with them, till we found, it was more for his Service, to leave them, then longer stay with them, their *Armies* proving Cowardly and Treacherous, and their *Clergy* charging us with their Crimes; though we stood, until we lost our Lives, by fighting with our own Country-men, in the Field, while they saved theirs, by running into the Neighbouring Woods and Bogs. Though we were the only Party that stood, and the *Irish* the only Party that run, at the Fight at *Dublin*, yet their *Ecclesiastics* charg'd us, as the occasion of that defeat, and the same Cause producing the same Effect, elsewhere, the Clergy openly Preach'd, That they could expect no better Success, while they joyned with us, that were *Hereticks*; and being disappointed in their frequent Attempts to Murder the *Duke of Ormond*, and charging all their Miscarriages on his want of Conduct, whereas their *Supream Trusts* had the whole Conduct of their Army, and his *Grace* nothing left but the bare Title of *General*; and he refusing to quit his empty Command at their desire, at a great meeting of their Bishops, and others their dignified Clergy, they fixed up a publick Excommunication against him, and all that should

should joyn with him, or adhere to him. Which forced his *Grace* to leave the Kingdom *incognito*, and so he left us the second time to shift for our selves; and we conceiving it more for your *Brothers* Service, to leave them, then longer to joyn with them, we serving again under our *Countrymens* Banners, in less then two years time, with our help, the whole Kingdom was subdued. But that Army being headed by a Junctio Parliament, and they, and their Confidents, put into all places of Trust and Power in the other two Kingdoms, as well as in this, yet so desirous, were we, to serve your Brother, and arrive at a lasting settlement; and so well known, were our desires and Intentions to our Brethren, and they so confident of our Assistance, that a few of us, without the help of an *Irish* hand; On the 13th of *December* 1659. Supprized, and Seized the strong Castle of *Dublin*, and in less then fourteen Days got the Power of the whole Kingdom into our Hands, and as soon as we had settled it, rendred the Government to his late Majesty with the offer of a well regulated and disciplined Army to Assist his Restauration to his other Kingdoms, and had the Honour of being the first of the three Kingdoms, who declared for his Restauration. Was not his Majesty so highly pleased with the Sence of this our seasonable Loyalty. That he made our *Tender*, and his *Gracious* acceptance, to be made a perpetual Record in his *High Court of Chancery* in this Kingdom; and without any knowledge, petition or capitulation of ours, of his own free Will, gave us his Royal Assurance of being continued in our Employes? And when by previous or legal Grants, that *Grace* was made unpracticable, in that case, the loosing Party was to be reprized in value, worth and purchase, as in, and by, the said Record, relation being thereunto had, it may, and will, more fully appear.

And was not most of us soon after chose Members of *Parliament* in this Kingdom? and did we not then, and there, with all imaginable circumstances of duty and affection, without any consideration of our own straits, or *Exigencies*, give his Majesty twenty eight subsidies, and the Inheritance of a Revenue of more then two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*? And so passionately desirous were we, of living like good Neighbours, good Subjects, and good Christians, with the *Irisb*, that we as readily consented, to pay his Majesties one full Years profit of our Estates, which we afterwards made up three hundred thousand pounds in Money, which was then more than one third of all the Current Coyn in this Kingdom, and this barely to supply and enable his Majesty to exercise his greater Bounty, to such of the *Irisb*, as he knew most deserving; yet was this thought too little by the *Irisb Agents*, though we had lost much of our Estates and improvements very severely by the Proceedings of the *Court of Claims*, and the said *Agents* promising us an absolute confirmation, in what we had left, without expecting more from us, we readily consented to retrench one third, of what we then had, the aforesaid Particulars, being most of them matters of *Record*, some matters of Fact, and all demonstratively true, let all the Annals and Records of this, or former Ages be examined, and see if thence can be extracted, a Loyalty exceeding this of ours.

But Oh! let it not be told in *Gath* nor Published in the Streets of *Askalon*, the returns we have had for all these our aforesaid services, let them sink in perpetual oblivion, and never be remembred by Posterity, that we who gave such Evidences of our *Loyalty* to our Exiled Prince, were not thought fit to be employ'd after his return, that we who so faithfully served him in War and Misery, should be thrown out of his service in times of Peace and Prosperity, our Employes being not only taken from us, without any of that promised compensation made us, but that which

is yet worse, those very Employes put into the worst of *Irish* hands. Are not many of them now arm'd in peace, whom we lately disarm'd in War for being Rebels? Are not many, we then made Prisoners, now made our Masters? are not we made Captives to them in peace, which we made our Captives in time of War? did we give up the conquer'd *Irish* to your Brothers mercy to be now given up by your Majesty to their cruelty? Are not the Persons, most Rebellious, reputed now the most Loyal and meritorious, is not their late horrid Rebellion, made now the standard of Loyalty and merit? how often do we now hear, the *Ultock Irish* boast of their merit, that they killed *one hundred thousand Hereticks in six Months time*, and reproaching the *Lempster Irish* that they killed not half that number in double that time? who ever thought that the *Boyles, Coots, St. Georges, &c.* should be turned out and pursued as disaffected to your Majesty, and the *Mac-gennis, Mac-mahons, Oneales, &c.* brought into their places, and received as good Subjects.

And as I have often heard the British making the aforesaid, and like Expostulations with their King, so have I heard them as frequently making these and the like Expostulations with their Irish Neighbours.

Sirs, What are our Crimes, or what have we, or our fore-fathers done? what is the greatness of our, or their guilt, that nothing but our utter Extirpation, can be our expiation? have not they and we, been ever pursued as Beasts of prey, by many of you, who have given clearer Evidence of your being Wolves, and Tygers, then Men or Christians? have we not dearly bought the Estates we have here enjoy'd? might we not have bought the best Land in *England*, on easier Terms then we paid for the worst in *Ireland*? did we first get them by oppression, or injury, that we must now loose them by Perjury and Forgery, after we have made the Annual value, more worth then the Inheritance when Purcha'd?

You

You well know that *Cataline* like, the Evils you have done cannot be safe, but by attempting greater ; and we as well know, that the speedier is your hast, the sooner you will be at your Journeys end. You must believe as your Church believes, and do as your Priests will have you do ; and we well know, what they would have done with *Excommunicated Heretics*. You cannot be true to your own Principles, and continue true to us, we do not expect *Grapes* from *Thorns*, nor *Figs* from *Thistles* ; such as is the Tree, such will be the Fruit ; your National Principles are bad, but your *Ecclesiastics* worse ; these are the two Bellows that blow up the Flame of your wrath to the height, that nothing but our Blood, can be our expiation. Should we give you up our Lands, stock and Improvements, should we voluntary yeild our selves to be your slaves, nay should we turn *Papists*, that would not save us, nor satisfy you, our *Original guilt* is our *Unpardonable sin* ; we are *British*, and true to the *British Interest*, which can be expiated with nothing less than our Blood ; are not 1000's of you yet alive, who drank not many Years since, too deep of that Cup, and are you thirsty still ? were not *Hecatombs* of our slaughtered Brethren then Victims to your merciless rage, and are you enraged still ? was the Harvest so pleasant then, that now you have power, you are so Industrious to sow the same Seeds again ? have you so soon forgot, that when we wanted hands to revenge, that Innocent Blood, which you so Barbarously spilt then, and were utterly unable to prevent you of spilling more, did not God himself arise, and plead our cause, when our Swords could not reach you ? did not his Arm find you out ? did he not then send a Pestilence, and a Famine amongst you, what the one left, did not the other take, and what both left, did not the Sword devour ? and were not these, as inexorable to your cries, as you had been before to ours ? did not these deal, as severely with you, as you had done before with us ? did not these depopulate as many Villages, Parishes and Towns, in your

Proprieties

Proprieties as you had before in ours? he that thus Miraculously helped us, and as justly punished you, in that Rebellion, why think you may he not do the like for us in your next, which you now seem to be preparing for? we know his Almighty Arm is not shortned, your Exultation; your *Tedum's*, your Church-merriment for the *Exaltation of Roman Catholicism*, may like the Musick or rather howlings at *Molochs* Sacrifices, drown the present cries of the oppressed, and stop the Ears of Men, but will it, think you, as easily stop the Ears, or withhold the hand of God? As we find your malice no ways abated, so we wish and advise you to be very cautious, how you force it upon another Tryal, whether his Arm be any way shortned? When many of you had drunk deep of our Blood, to satiate your rage, were not many of the same Persons, shortly after in the time of Famine as greedy of our Flesh, to satiate your hunger; and did you *Canibal* like eat several, and were you not at last by the same Just God reserved to be yet more chastized, by the sharpest and severest of *English* hands; you made it your sport to destroy us, they made it their work to destroy you? they with as much ease conquered you, as you before had Murthered us; their great endeavour was to keep off our hands from being your Assistance, and then feared no harm which could come to them singly from yours.

When your Supream Council were consulting how to destroy *Cromwel*, you know the advice given by the *Lord Piscoont Clannaleer*, which was to joyn with him, giving this as his reason, that he never knew his Country Men joyn with any Party, but they streight destroyed them, you may make your selves as infamous to Posterity, as he who destroy'd *Diana's Temple*: you may destroy again much of the Country, but cannot long keep it.

What

What if like *Isaac* we are now bound as a ready Sacrifice to your rage, was it your courage that did thus bind us? or our Submission to the will of God and his *Vice-gerent*, and as God wrought a Miraculous delivery for him, so we doubt not but in his time, which is the best time, he will work the like for us? What if by the Misrepresentation of a great Courtier, or greater Favorite with his Prince, than with his God, we are now as the *Jews*, once were to *Haman*, given up to his hands, to be destroy'd? have we not a *Queen Hester* in our view, who is more able to save, then he to destroy us? what if we, who have been as terribly formidable to the *Irish*, as *Sampson* was to the *Philistians*, having now our strength taken from us, are become as contemptible as he, without his Locks, yet on the return of our strength, we despair not soon to pull down that *Irish Fabric*, which you have now set up to make us your slaves? what if your numbers were treble what they are, or can be, it is well known, we never feared you numbers, the more you are, the more will be to kill, to be taken and to run away? Do not think that the *Irish Harp*, or the fading *Flower de Luce*, can secure you from the *British* and *Belgic Lyons* in a day of Tryal.

You escaped well in the last Rebellion, think not to speed so well in the next, we know you got Favour and Forfeitures enough in your last Rebellion to make satisfaction for the charge and mischief you may do in your next, *fero Sapient Phryges* wherein perhaps God may arise, and Spirit Men to call to accompt that Ocean of Innocent Blood you spilt, and as yet unaccounted for, which day of reckoning, his Justice will not for ever delay, and though Justice have Leaden Heels, yet it hath in all Ages been found to have Iron Hands, could those, who have put Arms into your Hands, put courage into your Hearts, or other Souls into your Bodies, they might hope to make you good Souldiers, it is confest by all that the *British* were ever the best Fighters,

Fighters, and it cannot be denied, but you were ever esteemed the best *Runners*; Naturalists observe, that where Nature is defective one way, that defect is supply'd another, so the want of courage in your Hearts, is supplied with the better agility of the Heels, Oh the consolation of a soft Bogg, and a thick Wood in a day of Battel! Some of you have complained you have been oppressed by English Governors, it is confest that the Government of this Kingdom, being a subordinate Government, we as well as you have too often received severities from powerful Ministers, but did we ever take Rebellions, Murthers, Massacres, &c. for a Cure? or Irish Blood for our revenge? Though you may have some cause, yet we know your complaints have exceeded your cause, we can remember the complaint which the present Deputy made to his English Predecessor of great partialities in our then Judicatures, and we as well remember, that it was desired he would assign one instance, to Justify his complaint, and for his encouragement, was openly assured, that the cause should be reheard, the injured *Irishman* relieved, and the offending Judge and Jury punished, but we could never hear of any one instance given to make good the complaint.

Do not multitudes of your own People, rather with the return of that English Governour, then a continuance under the present Deputy? Was not the Kingdom improved under the one? and is it not sunk a Moyety already of its intrinsic value, under the other? Trade was then increased, Improvements encouraged, Justice equally Administred, is it so now? the Army was then well govern'd, the Establishments paid 18 Months in 12 Monthstime, is it so now? all the publick Debts cleared, the Kingdom well satisfied and near fifty thousand Pounds left in the receivers hands; will your present Deputy ever, think you, do the like, in a word never was Governour received with greater Acclamation, never was that Government discharged with greater satisfaction, and never was that Government left with greater lamentation, will it be so now? as this is the

first experiment which the *Crown of England* ever made of *Ireland's* thriving under an *Irish Government*, so it's hoped, it may be the last, and its our only wish, that it may not now prove to be to dearly bought, its manifest by the experience of former Ages, that the *Irish* lived well and safe, under the *British Government*, and 'tis as manifest, that the *British* cannot live so under yours.

But you also further plead, that you are Innocent, and most injuriously barr'd of any benefit by that plea, and that by the express words of the *Explanatory Act*.

1. You cannot but acknowledge, that in the times of usurpation, you had time without limitation, to prove your Innocence.

2. Such of you, as did appear so were all restored.

3. When constant good affection was thought too narrow, the qualifications for Innocency, so opened that door, that you got the whole Province of *Connaugh* and County of *Clare* from the then Power.

4. On the Late Kings restauration in 1660. the clamour of *Innocency* was again revived; and though the *Universal Guilt* of the *Irish* was then fully proved, and the just forfeiture of your Lives and Fortunes affirm'd, as appears by the Preface of the *Act of Settlement* aforementioned, yet a Years time more was allow'd for Tryal of your Innocence.

5. On passing the *Explanation Bill* in the House of *Commons* in *Ireland*, it was made appear, that your Agents had inserted that Bar, or clause against Innocency, in the *Act of Explanation*, on purpose to reproach the then expected Settlement.

6. The Commissioners for Executing the *Act of Settlement* being prevailed with by your Agents, to put the proof of your guilt upon us, and they severally refusing and undervaluing the Evidence of the Souldiery, both before and since 1649. as Parties, by reason of the satisfaction confirm'd to them by the Acts, and rejecting the *Irish* as *Participes Criminis*, and the *Irish* having destroyed all the *Old British* within their reach, there was little possibility

to

to prove the *Guilt* of the most *Rebellious*, many who were prescribed by publick Proclamation, and large Sums offered to any to bring in their heads, were by these restraints, made Innocent; the *Marquess* of *Antrem* the only surviving General which the Rebels had in *Ulster* was openly declared Innocent; and the then *Duke* of *Ormond* being so declared the same day, was heard to say, that that Judgment was certainly erroneous; for that they heading two differing Parties, and Fighting with each other, on different Authorities, could not possibly be both Innocent, the Lords *Taaff*, *Preston*, *Musskerry* and *Castlehaven* being the only surviving Generals, in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, were so far from esteeming themselves Obnoxious, for what they did in that Rebellion, that they not only procured a restoration to their former Proprieties by the *Acts of Settlements*, but had large Donatives of forfeited Lands, confirm'd to them by that Law; and three of them the Addition of new Honours conferred on them, to make them the more signally meritorious, and were raised to that Elevation of confident Merit, that they and others, most Active in that Rebellion, petitioned the *Government* here, to have their arrears Stated, for the good Services they did his Majesty in that Rebellion. So that by the aforesaid restraints given by the Commissioners, and by the powerful interest of the aforesaid Generals and their Clergy, few or none were made *Novents*, but such as wanted either Friends or Money, to make them *Innocent*. But when the guilty *Claimant* found that it was easier buying an inconsiderable part of his Estate from the Souldier or Adventurer, then to run the Risque of the whole by the expensive methods of that Court, they would usually purchase that small proportion, and limit their Claims to the purchased part, and to that no opposition being given they were declared Innocent of course, and being thus declared, they would soon after get their whole Estate by due course of Law, though this cheat is expressly mentioned in the *Act of Explanation*, yet there may the Reader find the decrees

under the Name or Title of decrees, *Quo ad hoc*, made good by that Law, as illegal as were their whole collusive decrees, passed after the 2^d. of *July* 1663. the *British* well knowing that was the time limited by Law for their Adjudication, and the *British* preparing little or no opposition against the worst of the *Claimants*, Innocents were made as fast as their Claims were read, and the work was so Sweet and Pleasant to the Commissioners, that they continued making Innocents until the 22^d. of *August* following, fifty one days after the time by Law limited was expired, and in these fifty one days made more Innocents then they had done before, and that the benefit (deserves a worser name) might be equally divided, the Commissioners agreed that each Commissioner in his turn prepare his List of Claimants for that Days work, only the last day *viz.* 22^d. of *August*, there was upwards of seventy Claims posted up to be heard, and their Clerk having not time to read half the Claims, and he making that day as many Innocents as the Court, was reported to share half the benefit of that Days work.

Yet as *ILLEGAL* Corrupt and *HORRID* as these Decrees were, they must, and that by a *British* Parliament be confirmed, and one third of what was left the *British* retrencht, or not one Foot could be confirm'd to the *British* by that Law, as appears to any that reads but that Act of Explanation. *THESE WERE FINE INNOCENTS!* These and their *Nocents* are like to make fair Sheriffs, Judges and Juries of such Estates as are secured, or left the *British* by that Law.

And as the *Irish* had these Encouragements in times of Peace, so on enquiry, it will be found, that they had as many or more in times of War, which (as appears) was begun not only with the highest Approbation and Encouragement of their own Clergy, but had the United Concurrence, Beneditions and Masses of most of the *Romish* Clergy in *Europe*, for their good Success. *Urban* the
VIII.

VIII. the then *Pope*, thought it not enough, to send his *Nuntio*, to be President of their *Councils*, and to Act as General over their Armies, but with him, sent his *Bull*, bearing date the 17th of *May*, 1642. six Months after the beginning of the said Rebellion, when above one hundred thousand innocent *British* had been inhumanly Butchered by the *Irish*, and they at that instant Murthering more, as fast as they could, yet in the said *Bull*, his Holiness was pleased to call these perfidious, horrid *Irish* Murtherers, Faithful Christians, Godly Warriors, their Rebellion a Godly undertaking to relieve their Country and their poor Massacred and Murthered *British* Protestants, Hereticks and workers of Iniquity, and by the said *Bull*, gives further Encouragment to the said *Irish*, to confess to any secular or regular Priest approved by the *Ordinary* of the place, who on hearing their said Confessions, was Impowr'd to give them absolutions from all their Sins, how great, or hainous so ever they were.

In Imitation of this Holy Example, given by his Holiness himself, it is notoriously known, that no Pennance was more usually imposed by their Biggoted Clergy, on the most vilest Offenders, then the Murthering of Innocent Protestants, under the name of *Hereticks*, and that before they would give absolution, they would frequently advance Monies and promise their saying several Masses for their good Success.

And to conclude, at the Writing hereof, there is such Intelligence here obtain'd, which gives more then a probable assurance, the same Spirit is now at work, and some of the said Clergy have actually Employ'd profligate Villains, to Murther such Protestants, as are in prospect, under God, most likely to preserve the Reform'd Religion in this part of the World.

Are these the Doctrines or Practises of Christians, or are they not rather the Doctrines of the Devil, who was a Murderer from the beginning ? Well might the Heathen Cry, *Sit Anima mea cum Philosophis* ; and as well may the Christian say, *Nostrum non est Evangelium, aut hi sunt Anti-christi potius quàm Christi Pontifices & Sacerdotes.*

A

A LIST of the Nobility of Ireland, in 1688.

Protestants.	Papists.	Protestants.	Papists.
Duke of Ormond.	Marquess of Antrim.	Viscounts.	Ratbcoole.
Earls.	Earls.	Grandison.	Bareford.
Kildare.	Clanrickard.	Wilmot.	Bronkart.
Thomond.	Castlehaven.	Loftus.	Galmoy.
Cork.	West Meath.	Swords.	Kingland.
Desmond.	Fingall.	Kilmurry.	Gormanstown.
Barrymore.	Castlemayne.	Castleton.	Mayo.
Meath.	Carlingford.	Chamworth.	Kellmaslock.
Offory.	Tyronne.	Sligo.	
Rosscommon.	Tyrconnel.	Waterford.	
Londonderry.		Strangford.	
Donnegal.		Tuam.	
Arran.		Castell.	
Conaway.		Carelow.	
Carberry.		Cullen.	
Ardglash.		Shannon.	
Rannalagh.		Dromoore.	
Cavan.		Mazarine.	
Inchiquin.		Kells.	
Clancarty.		Dunganon.	
Orrery.		Fitzharding.	
Mountrath.		Clare.	
Drogheda.		Charlemount.	
Waterford.		Powers.	
Mount-alex- ander.		Blessing Town.	
Down.		Ross.	
Longford.		Lisburne.	

Ba.

Protestants.	Protestants.	Protestants.	Papists.
Barons.	Barons.	Barons.	Barons.
<i>Kinsale.</i>	<i>Digbey.</i>	<i>Killard.</i>	<i>Athenry.</i>
<i>Kerry.</i>	<i>Lifford.</i>	<i>Kingston.</i>	<i>Cahir.</i>
<i>Hoath.</i>	<i>Herbert.</i>	<i>Colooney.</i>	<i>Baltimore.</i>
<i>Mountjoy.</i>	<i>Loghlin.</i>	<i>Santry.</i>	<i>Strabane.</i>
<i>Folios.</i>	<i>Coleraine.</i>	<i>Clawnally.</i>	
<i>Maynard.</i>	<i>Leitrim.</i>	<i>Altram.</i>	
<i>Gorges.</i>	<i>Donmore.</i>	<i>Bishops. 24.</i>	

F I N I S.

Errata.

PAg. 1. l. 27. omitted, *id valet quantum vendi potest.* pag. 11. l. 9. r. November
for Number. pag. 12. l. 18. *dele vs.*